

TO THOSE WHO LIVE IN IDLENESS WITH-
OUT LABOUR, AND TO THOSE WHO ARE
WILLING TO LABOUR BUT COMPELLED
TO STARVE.

FRIENDS,

I am now about to write you my last let-
ter before the representatives of the people
meet in Parliament; and, curiously enough,
although members of Parliament are called
the representatives of the people, yet do not
constitute the only class in society not
represented in Parliament. Of course no one
would dream of calling fifty lords and
fifty members of Parliament PEOPLE—in
fact, the term 'people' has ever been used as
one of inferiority, except when those who re-
gulated the title have required the assistance
of the people. However, you will see that I
have included all classes at the heading of this
letter, and, as I believe that there are many
good rich men as well as many good poor men,
I have addressed all as friends. Moreover, I
address you all as friends, because my own
heart tells me that I would not do a cruel or
unkind act even to the greatest enemy I
have.

The object of this letter is to whet the ap-
petite of both rich and poor for a beneficial
and salutary change of system. Heretofore,
every change of system has been based upon
the sacrifice of one or other of those interests
constituting the great whole of society. Thus,
in their day of rampant and undivided
power, the landlords always made good any
deficiency in their rentals by a slice from a
weaker class; hence, the Corn Laws were a
greater delver into the pockets of all, to relieve
themselves from the consequences of the game
of muskets, in which the people were the
losers. The Poor Laws, in their permanency
—that is, except when they took sudden
jumps (upon which occasions they fell upon the
unoccupied farms)—fell upon the tenants.
So with tithes, when the tax was paid in kind,
so with land tax—so with county rates, church
rates, and all other rates; they were incipient
items, covered in a large figure of rent, and
all paid by an increased price—a fictitious
price—an unjust price, given to the produce
of the land—say, to all the produce of the
land; for, although corn was the one thing
nominally protected, the protection of that
article naturally led to the diminished pro-
duce of all other articles, and to their conse-
quent higher price.

Again, the landlords, in their supremacy,
clipt the Irish parsons of twenty-five per cent.
of their incomes, and all this, I pray you to
observe, was in consequence of the political
power possessed by those landlords, and their
consequent ability to live as freebooters upon
the weakness, the compliance, and the indus-
try of the ruled, who dare not disobey their
laws.

At last, however, the monied interest em-
ployed in commerce and manufactures became
too active and powerful for the sluggish eld-
poles. It was the war of a compact and dis-
ciplined body against a scattered and fugitive
race; it was the war of a strong, well-vicu-
lated garrison against its unconnected in-
vaders. A placard upon the walls, the bell-
man's ring, or an advertisement in the garri-
son journals, brought all the forces of the
garrison together, while the weakness of the
country party precluded the possibility of its
presenting anything like a combined or disci-
plined force to this marshalled army. Hence,
the triumph of the active forces of commerce
and manufacture over the scattered bands of
agriculture: and hence the transfer of Minis-
terial power and parliamentary influence from
the latter to the former class; and, as a neces-
sary consequence, hence the present distraction
of all interests in the nation.

Agriculture was a strong pillar, a firm
key-stone, and its representatives were, for the
most part, compelled to bend to sudden emer-
gencies and exigencies. It was a reality; but
as soon as it was replaced by a fiction the
whole superstructure began to totter, and the
representatives of the fiction were compelled
to resort to fiction after fiction, until the walls
of the edifice separated, and the roof fell in.
The representatives of fiction were not as
capable as the representatives of reality of
patching, tinkering, and mending; and this
nation is now brought to the very brink of
ruin from the evil, unjust, and unequitable
distribution of the national resources, as well
as from the fact that those resources have
been capriciously, and not beneficially, cul-
tivated. For instance, each class cultivated the
national resources in that direction, and to
that extent only, which would best secure its
own profit; and, as a consequence, and a
melancholy one too, we find the capital of the
country, and the industry of the country, by
degrees more and more applied to non-pro-
ductive and class-remunerating purposes, than
to re-productive and national-remunerating
purposes.

Now I have explained the whole system for
you, and I will proceed to propound the only
remedy which statesmen, philosophers, and
learned men can possibly suggest. The great,
paramount object of the government of a
country should be, to cultivate the national
resources of the country, and to see to the
equitable—mind, not the equal—distribution
of those resources; that is, that, if in the
process of cultivation A is entitled to 600, a year,
and B is entitled to 3,000, a year, A should
not be entitled to 200, a year, and B rewarded
with 3,040, a year—that is the difference
between equal and equitable distribution. And
I am now about to show you, and to prove to
you, in defiance of the opposition of every man
who ever wagged a tongue or held a pen, that
this country, by a proper cultivation of its
resources, is still capable of making the rich
richer and the poor richer.

It has been the practice of the Press to pro-
mote the most atrocious falsehoods about the
intentions of the democratic party, and it
has been the folly of its readers to believe those
assurances.

Chartism, in 1839, was described by the
Press and by the Judges of the land, as the
political creed of robbers; the intention of
Chartism being, as stated by Judge Littledale,
at Warwick, on the trial of Lovett and Collins,
—to take possession of the Land, and give it
to the people. Since 1845—that is, since the
promulgation of the Land Plan—the same ab-
surdities have been promulgated, while, as a
reply, the Chartists answer—"No; our purpose
is, not to steal the Land, but to buy the Land
at the improved value given to it consequent
upon the want of it, and the desire for it;" and
this laudable enunciation is now met with the
cry of, "The Law so surrounds you with diffi-
culties that you cannot, and you shall not pur-
chase the Land, because it is surrounded
with the law's meshes and intricacies." Well,
if you speak about the value of the Land, and
not knowing your ability to purchase in 1839,
you are plunderers—and if, in 1845, you devise
the means of purchasing it, you are offenders
against the law. Hence, you find, that let the
poor man do what he will he is opposed by the
fire of the musket, or the net of the law.

Heretofore it has been the interest of classes
to conceal their mode of warfare, each satisfied
with those tactics which will place it in the
ascendant for a moment, but all afraid to
divulge its whole case, least in the develop-
ment the plundered should discover the weak-
ness of faction. But at length this one-sided
policy has broken down, and the people—that
is, the industrious of all classes—have dis-
covered the utter incapacity of the representa-
tives of luxury and idleness to legislate justly
or honourably for the producers of wealth.

Now, my friends, keep this apothegm in
view, and never for a moment lose sight of it.
Let it be a household phrase—that

"It is as impossible for those who live upon
profits made by Labour to represent the
labourer—as it is for the victim to hug the
assassin who would take his life."

VOL. X. NO. 525.

Now, keep that apothegm ever uppermost
in your minds, repeat it after your prayers at
night, and before you rise in the morning, and
then reverse the apothegm—and say,
"That it is as impossible for the representa-
tives of Labour to legislate justly for the la-
bourer, without, at the same time, legislating
beneficially for all other classes—as it is to
suppose that a man would rob himself."
I shall now proceed to propound the remedy
—the only remedy—by which the country can be
saved from revolution; the only remedy by
which the landlord can be saved from ruin, the
merchant from failure, the manufacturer from
bankruptcy, the shopkeeper from starvation,
the working man from death, and the whole of
society from desolation. Sir Robert Peel has
told you 'the science of agriculture is only in
its infancy.' The science of agriculture is only
in its infancy! Observe, then, that all other
sciences, when discovered, if I may use the
expression, and while in their infancy, were as
naked as the science of agriculture, and until
applied to practice, were as undefined and un-
profitable. The sciences of astronomy, of ge-
ology, of mathematics, and of chemistry, un-
til analysed and practically applied, were
dead letters; until, at length, we see in the
nineteenth century the stretching powers of
those several sciences, applied to the most as-
tounding purposes, and producing the most
astounding results. So will it be with agri-
culture—because, even to my mind, who have,
I believe, devoted more time and reflection to
the subject than any other man living, the de-
velopment of the science proves to me on a
Monday my ignorance of the previous Satur-
day; and if there is any crime which society is
more chargeable with than another, it is the
crime of omission in having neglected to de-
velop to the simple understanding the most
simple of all sciences and the most profitable
of all sciences: simple, because the meanest
capacity can aid in its development; profit-
able, because its development must lead to the
most beneficial practical results.

In this question is involved so many points
of detail, that you must consider my present
lame and imperfect illustration of it as a mere
penfeather plucked from the eagle. The science
of agriculture must be carried out in each
country, according to the climate, the position,
and character of the inhabitants. I am not
talking now of a primitive state, but I am con-
sidering the enforcement of the science as a
graft upon the present fictitious condition of
the several countries of the world. I shall con-
sider myself, therefore, in this, my first address
upon the subject, to its application to this
country; and even here I find myself enve-
loped in such a mysterious web of interest,
currency, old associations, prejudices, privi-
leges, immunities, prescriptive rights, and all
the absurd conventionalisms which are whim-
sically enough denominated signs of civilisa-
tion, that I find it a herculean task. For in-
stance, as regards the currency, in my mind
far and away the most important question,
even to the working classes, that agitates the
public mind, although so apparently unconnec-
ted with the happiness, comfort, and very ex-
istence of those whose minds have been stun-
ned into criminal ignorance upon the
subject. Alas! the working classes of this
country, never understanding the fact, or never
thinking of the fact, that a fixed value
attached to gold, while a varied value is at-
tached to produce, is as great an absurdity as
if a manufacturer was to contract with his
customers to supply them with a given amount
of produce at a fixed price during his life, with-
out reference to the rise and fall in the
price of the raw material, the rise and fall in
wages, the rise and fall in rents, the rise and
fall in taxation, and the improvement in
machinery; while, at the same time, the
available circulating medium of the country,
required for the ordinary purposes of traffic,
cannot be represented to the amount of two
per cent. by the unvarying metal by which,
whimsically enough, trade, commerce, man-
ufactures, must be limited. Without mystify-
ing this subject of the currency, I can only say
that, as far as my intellect can lead me to a
selection of a choice of evils, I very much
prefer the principles propounded by the Anti-
Gold Law League, to those propounded by Sir
Robert Peel, Jones Lloyd, and the Times. And
here, in passing, allow me to call your atten-
tion to the very whimsical, the very insolent
and childish manner, in which a nation's
interests are sacrificed to the versatility and
duplicity of the press, and the selfishness and
cupidity of individuals. The Times has
turned about like a weather cock upon this
vital question of the currency, and the reason,
as assigned by the best informed men in the
commercial world, is, that Jones Lloyd, the
banker, has purchased that paper, and that he
is making not less than ONE THOUSAND
POUNDS A DAY PROFIT by the contraction
of the currency, occasioned by Sir Robert
Peel's banking measure, and the consequent
high interest—eight, nine, ten per cent., and
even more—that he is enabled to make of the
confidence reposed in him, an amount of in-
terest, however, no part of which is carried to
the credit of those whose money he speculates
with.

I am almost sorry that I entered this paper
house with gilded pillars and golden roof;
however, I now extricate myself from this
fragile edifice with this one single remark
upon its effects upon the landed interest of this
country:—"To keep money out," the landlords
promised something less than seven quarters
of wheat, as security to the landlord for a
certain ticket as his share of the war tax; and
at the present price of wheat, and the present
price of consignments—now that paper is convertible
into gold—the landlord, instead of seven quar-
ters of wheat, is giving thirty-four quarters of
wheat; and when the funds were 102, and
wheat at 40s., the landlord was giving the go-
vernment, the fundholder's agent, fifty-one quar-
ters of wheat, instead of seven. Now, I have
done with this fragile fabric, and I turn to the
question of national relief.

In my several letters to Lord John Russell,
upon the subject of Irish grievances, both in
the *Labourer* and the *Northern Star*, I showed
him that it was impossible to improve the con-
dition of the tenant and the labourer, without,
at the same time, improving the condition of
the landlord; and, my friends, the great object
of my life has been to purge my party and my
principles of the foul and ungenerous accusa-
tion, that we seek to elevate one class upon
the ruins of another. Such never has been my
intention or desire. I am no misanthrope,
but, on the contrary, I have as great a respect
and as great a regard for the good and hu-
mane landlord, for the good and humane em-
ployer of all classes, as I have for the good
and humane working man. And now I pro-
ceed to unravel the great mystery of taxation,
and to show you how a combination of the
good and virtuous of all classes must inevi-
tably make the rich richer, the poor richer, the
government independent, and England the
envy and admiration of the world. While the
Chancellor of the Exchequer is looking for
a famine loan for Ireland, and crushing com-
mercial operations by abstracting the amount
from reproductive employment and works;
while this head-book-keeper of the nation is
looking to the quarterly account of dissipa-
tion, destruction, and beastliness, as a means

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of propping the present system, and while he
is relying upon the spleen, the self-interest,
the cupidity and jealousy of parties, for the strength
of political faction, which will preserve the as-
cendancy of his party—I will show you and
him a clear, a simple, and irrefragable table, by
which he may save the middle classes, the aris-
tocracy and the working classes, the small item
of five millions per annum, and give to the go-
vernment a net and permanent income of over
ten millions per annum.

Now, I am aware that crotchety-mongering
is an exploded thing, and that the fascinating
propositions to raise hundreds of thousands a
year, by a penny a week, or a penny a month,
paid by the working classes, is gone out of fa-
shion; but hear my simple calculation,—see
my simple table. The poor-rate is the most op-
pressive tax upon all classes, because the most
undefined and varying, and because it increases
in geometrical progression—the increase being
always consequent upon the increased poverty
of the parties called upon to pay it.—thus, for
instance, when the poor are poor, the rich are
comparatively distressed, and increasing po-
verty increases its demand upon decreasing
poverty.

If, then, in round numbers, we estimate this
degrading, this respect-destroying tax at seven
millions a year, we shall not, as an average, be
much below the limit; and what I propose, as
a substitute for that seven millions a year, is,
as five millions shall be wholly exting-
uished and abolished, and that the property
now subject to the seven millions a year shall
be subject to only two millions a year, and that
the owners of that property shall be allowed
to relieve their property of the charge of poor-
rates altogether, by purchasing it, as
few as thirty years' purchase—that is, that
the landlord now paying £350 a year shall
have his poor-rates reduced to £100 a year,
and that he shall be allowed to relieve his
estate of that burden by the payment of
£3,000, which is thirty years' purchase upon
the £100 a year; and, in case any landlord
should refuse so to relieve his estate, that
then the government may sell the charge for
poor-rates to any other purchaser, the pur-
chaser having the first claim for the recovery of
the interest—£100 a year. This would give
the government £500,000,000 sterling, and
would relieve the agricultural classes and all
classes to the extent of five millions a year.
And, now—

For the table, showing its application; and
this I shall illustrate by a most simple scale.
I will take fifty paupers out of the workhouse,
consisting of five each family, father, mother,
and three children, and I will presume,
though I think I am under the mark, that each
individual maintained as an idle, degraded
pauper, in food, fuel, and raiment costs 2s. a
head per week; and that the expenses of the
establishment—poor law commissioners, and
their motley staff, master, matrons, school-
masters, chaplains, repairs, expense of build-
ing, and interest, persecutions, persecutions,
stationary, and the thousand of *ceteras*—cost
half as much as the food, raiment, and fuel,
that is, 1s. a head per week—hence we have a
cost of fifteen shillings a week paid by the in-
dustries of the country to support five unwilling
idlers. Now fifteen shillings a week is 390, a
year, and fifty families comprising 250 indi-
viduals cost the country 1,950, PER ANNUM.

Now, my friends, let us see to its better
application, and it will not do for any man to
say to me—"We are willing to pay this seven
millions a year to secure a degraded competi-
tive labour class, and of whose misery our an-
nual profits are made up." It will not do to
talk to me about the intricacies and the diffi-
culty of the details, when every man's light
is measured, every man's letter is stamped—
every man's newspaper is stamped—every puff
from every man's pipe is stamped—every man's
quaff of ale, gin, brandy, wine, or whiskey is
stamped—when every man's book is stamped—
every man's dog, pleasure horse and carriage
is stamped—every man's tea, coffee, and sugar
is stamped—every man's loaf is stamped—every
woman's dress, muff, stockings, bonnet, scarf,
and box are all stamped—when every man's
title deed and promissory note and bill of ex-
change are all stamped—when every brick in
every man's house, every rafter in his roof, and
the floor he walks upon is stamped—when all
we see, all we feel and touch is taxed—when
man's birth, death, and burial are one and all
taxed as if he were born in the Custom House
and buried in the Exchequer—stamped, body
and soul, from birth to dissolution, that the
rich and idle may live in affluence—surely it is
not complicating or rendering confusion more
confused, to give up those complicated details,
in order that the industrious producer may
live "in the sweat of his own brow." I will not
have such answers as these; and the value of
the sound knowledge taught to the working
classes, consists in the fact that they will not
have them.

We have, then, fifty families of 250 people,
costing the nation 1,950, while living in a
state of idleness and degradation. Now, see
my provision for those fifty heads of families,
converted into cheerful and profitable labour-
ers, snatched from degradation and thought-
lessness, and, as if by magic, elevated in the
moral, social, and intellectual scale. Fifty
heads of families located upon 100 acres of
land, at two acres to the man, with a good
substantial house and 20s. capital to commence,
would cost the government—

100 Acres of Land at £20, an acre...	£2,000 0 0
Fifty Houses at £20, a house ...	£1,000 0 0
Capital, at £20, a man ...	1,000 0 0
	£4,000 0 0

Hence I show you that fifty paupers and their
families, who cost the country 1,950, a year,
may be located as freemen and as task labour-
ers, working for themselves, for 7,500. Then,
as to rent, if the government charged 6s.
rent upon the 150s. expended, it would be four
per cent. upon the capital, thus relieving the
country of 1,950, altogether, and the land of
the occupants being security to the govern-
ment for four per cent. upon the money ex-
pended.

Now, take the sixty millions funded by the
sale of two millions a year poor rates, and
divide it by 150, the amount that it takes to
locate each family, and you have four hundred
thousand families, consisting of two million in-
dividuals, rescued from poverty and degrada-
tion, elevated to the rank of freemen, with a
country worth living for, and worth dying for,
educating their children, constituting a national
militia, cultivating the resources of the country,
exchanging their produce for the produce of
the artificial market—giving an increased value
to the labourers in that market, and an in-
creased profit to the employers of that labour,
thus making machinery man's holiday, instead
of man's curse—enriching the shopkeepers,
abandoning cat-throats and bludgeon men,
turning the sword into a ploughshare, and the
bludgeon into a flail, dispensing with his tax-
farm, each worshipping his God according to his
taste, without the interference of a hired State
Church person; an oasis in the desert, a trading
colony discovered within the limits of our own
island, taking and exchanging produce without
double risk, double freight, double insurance,
double waste and injury, double warfare and
custom duty, double warehouse and lighter tax,
double money-mongers' profit, and double
"bubble, toil, and trouble." Thus, I show you,

that, from this source alone, I give the govern-
ment a net income of two millions four hundred
thousand pounds per annum, while I relieve the
industrious classes of the payment of five mil-
lions a year, as a competitive labour tax.

Observe, my friends, that the government
will build a better house for 70s., with all
materials duty free, and a larger benefit from
co-operation, than I can build for 100s., and
therefore I give the poor man a good house.
The government can buy land without end,
and—Merciful Providence!—just think that it
would only require eight hundred thousand
acres of the millions the poor have been robbed
of, to carry out this holy, this God-like system.
And then, when we are searching the world for
our breakfast, our dinner, and our supper—
suppose wheat was the most necessary thing to be
grown in the country, and that these occupants
were compelled to pay their rent in wheat at
six shillings the bushel, or forty-eight shillings
the quarter—that is two quarters and a half
for six pounds—there's a million additional
quarters per annum at two quarters and a half
to a man. "Oh! but the wheat may fail,"
quoth the tender-hearted philanthropic political
economist. Well, but if it does, I answer,
potatoes, cabbages, turnips, parsnips, carrots,
peas, beans, bacon, pork, beef, mutton, lamb,
milk, and butter, very good substitutes, won't
all fail. "Well, but," says another, "the 800,000
acres now produce some wheat." I say com-
paratively little. But I leave it all to you, and
mine shall be every grain an increase—thus I
would enclose your race-parks and your common
lands now lying waste, for such a holy purpose
as that, and thus warm up some of the cold
meat in the larder for the new guests that are
every day introduced to nature's tables.

Let me ask, my beloved friends, what the
result of such a holy undertaking—I will not
call it experiment—would be, when you now
witnessed that wonderful and admired piece
which the MAN OF BLOOD has produced,
through the anticipation of a hopeful future.
Ah! I have shown you a system worth living
for, a system worth dying for; I have tested
your morality, your wisdom, your peace-loving
disposition, your self-respect and hopeful self-
reliance, when the goal of independence is
placed at the end of the most rugged and
thorny course. And having spent a life in this
—mine, mine own—project, I would sacrifice
that life rather than see it strangled or
stunted in its growth by all the intricacies of the
law, or the terror of the bayonet.

Then, to keep my table clearly before you, I
show you how I relieve one interest of five mil-
lions a year, to give to the government an annual
income of 2,400,000, and give to an industrious
population of two millions, the free labour field,
the free religious tabernacle, the free school
house, the free ventilation, the free air of
heaven, and the free and untrammelled, though
not injurious, liberty of man. This is what I
pant for; this is what I live for; this is what I
devote my every hour of thought and labour to;
this is what I will die for rather than
give it up.

I now turn to the consideration of my second
proposition, namely, the giving to the govern-
ment an income of ten millions a year. I have
shown you where the 2,400,000, is to come from
in the shape of rent, and I will now show you
where the balance is to come from; and the
value of the land, and the developments
of the science of agriculture, so presses upon
me with every thought, that no argument
will more fully prove the value of the land
than that which I am now about to propound.
It is this:—That the tenant holding land under
a landlord upon his will, or at twenty-one
years' lease, will give upon a lease for ever
upon that land ten per cent. more than upon
a capricious tenure. For instance, I hold a
hundred acres of land as tenant-at-will. It
requires draining, but upon such tenure I will
not lay out my capital; and my landlord, being
either tenant for life himself, and having but
a slight interest in the improvement of his
heir's property, or being too poor, will not per-
form the work; and the consequence is that the
land remains cold, sterile, and unproductive,
closed against the labourer, and in an unprofit-
able state.

Again, he requires a new house, or a larger
house, for an increasing family; but he props
the old one, as he has no security for a return
upon his capital. Again, he requires more
outbuildings—the very bank of the farm; but
he will naturally do nothing rather than
invest his capital in so frail a tenure. He has
money in the funds, or money in his bank,
which he would not hazard upon the will or
even upon the life of another, and very natu-
rally prefers the certainty of three per cent.
to the uncertainty of receiving a profit of ten,
fifteen, or twenty per cent. upon the chance of
another enjoying it; and thus the agricul-
tural labour market is stunted in its fair, com-
petitive, and most remunerative channel. That
is the case of a tenant-at-will. Then suppose
the case of a tenant holding for twenty-one
years—this is his condition;—he will not ex-
pend his money upon improvements, or freely
upon agricultural labour; and if he does for
the first fourteen years of his lease, he'll be
sure to take it out of his land for the last
seven years, by very naturally hoarding as
much as he can and very naturally spending
as little as he can.

Now another and a very striking reason why
the science of agriculture has not progressed
as rapidly as other sciences, is this fact:—that
those who make valuable discoveries in other
sciences are amply rewarded for them, they
have more than a life-interest, they have a
perpetuity in their discovery, because they
make a handsome retiring salary, and an ample
provision for their families, out of their
patent; and I am as convinced as that I am
now addressing you, that the diversity of me-
chanical intellects applied to this Land Plan
of ours, with the perpetuity of tenure, will
lead to more valuable discoveries and improve-
ments, by a new race, in less than three years,
than all the benefits that have been produced
from this science, from the creation of the
world till the present moment.

Having now shown you, very clearly and
irrefragably, that the farmer who now holds
money at three per cent., would spend it all
upon productive labour, that would repay him
ten, fifteen, or twenty per cent., if he had per-
fect security in his tenure; and reminding you,
that the Irish landlords and the Irish
council are now gabbling about a complicated
scheme of what they facetiously term "Tenant
right," but which is not less intricate than
Penelope's web, I proceed to illustrate for you
my second proposition, by which I propose to
make the rich richer, and the poor richer.

There is not then a farmer in England who
would not cheerfully give an additional ten
per cent. in rent for his land if his possession
was secured to him for ever—that is, the man
who now holds 100 acres of land upon the will
of his landlord, or upon a short lease at a
hundred a year, would jump at the offer that
he should have it on lease for ever at 110s.
a year—thus I show you how the landlord
would not be injured; how the farmer would be
gratified; how the labourer would be employed;
how the government would be enriched; and
how the nation would be ennobled by this plan,
which would give to the government a
property tax of ten per cent.; cheerfully
paid by the farmer, as it would be re-
turned to him three-fold, and not lost to the
landlord; but, on the contrary, many a landlord

PRICE FIVEPENCE, or
Five Shillings and Sixpence per Quarter

who now has no make abatements, and many a
one who cannot induce or force his tenants to
pay, would never have a column for arrears; as
this advantage once conferred upon the farmers,
I would have no objection to make the process
of ejectment more summary, more speedy, and
less expensive, as I feel assured that not one in
a thousand would ever be a day behind in the
payment of his rent. And, if I am told that this
system would be as capricious as the system of
the manufacturer, who undertook to supply his
customers at a fixed price for life, I answer;
that I am prepared to show that that difficulty
can be obviated by the substitution of a corn
rent for a fixed money rent; and that it is
just that the tenant should pay his rent accord-
ing to the scale of price of fluctuating pro-
duce, rather than by a fixed value in unchange-
able metallic currency.

Now, to illustrate this proposition, let me
call your attention to these two simple figures.
I show that a man will expend more money,
more experiments, better cultivate, and
another man's property; just as a man will
take more care of his own horse, or of his own
SLAVE, than he will of another man's horse
or of another man's SLAVE. Some men will
ride or drive a hired horse beyond his powers,
while he would spare his own horse, because
he would have an interest in his life and
health. He'll see his own horse done up and
comfortable for the night, but, perhaps, never
even inquire after the hired slave.

Again, for the second illustration. The man
who works for another, works slave labour,
and will work grudgingly, and thinks the
working day too long; while, upon the other
hand, the man who works task or job
work, works cheerfully, expends his strength
freely, and thinks the night too long and the
day too short.

To conclude, then—this ten per cent., laid
as a tax upon property, would enrich every class
of society, and, I believe, would do away with the
necessity of Poor Laws altogether, while it would
leave the government over seven millions and
a half annually, which, added to the 2,400,000,
made in the shape of rent, would produce an in-
come of 10,000,000, per annum, and would en-
able the government to dispense with the Income
Tax altogether; a tax which, however in-
tended as a levy upon profit, falls heavily as
a duty on labour, as every man who pays a
direct income tax makes a profit upon reduced
wages, reduced household, or some other
filing from the sustenance and comfort of
the poor. Thus, my friends, I show you that
I am not an enemy to my class, while I am the
stern opponent of that ascendancy and domi-
nion of class over class which compels the
political government of the country to be the
filching agents for the strong, and the depreda-
tors and plunderers of the weak. If my
propositions are simple and understandable,
there is now a sufficient amount of genius in
the country, created by Chartism, organised
by Landism, if directed by vigour, energy, and
perseverance, to lead to the full develop-
ment of our national resources, to the equita-
ble distribution of the profits, to the enrich-
ment of all and the impoverishment of none.
Then we shall live to see the day when the
husbandman will cheerfully "live in the sweat
of his own brow," when he "is first partaker
of the fruits of his own industry," and when
his brethren in the artificial market will look
upon him as a helpmate instead of a competi-
tor; when we shall have religion without
NATIONAL EXCISE PARSONS; peace
without blood; education without mental
coercion; TAXATION WITH REPRESENTA-
TION; and law for protection instead of
coercion. Who does not think such a system
worth living for? who does not believe it
worth dying for, to bequeath, as a legacy,
to generations yet unborn?

Your faithful Friend,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.
[I hope my friend, William Grocott, will
read my two letters to my Manchester
children.—F. O'C.]

TO THE PRESS GANG.

You poor devils—I am not a man of blood
nor yet a man of hate, and I have pity upon
your families, and yet greater pity for those
upon whose resources you must be ultimately
thrown. I have received a letter from one of
the most respectable booksellers and news-
agents in Salford, in these words,—

Sir,—You are playing the devil with the Examiner.
Some weeks ago I used to sell six or seven quires of that
paper, now I can't sell one.

And from all parts of the country I receive the
lachrymose epistles from the agents who used,
formerly, to make a good thing by the sale of the
Dispatch and *Lloyd's*, but which journals,
BLESS THE MARK—are now becoming
waste paper, while the "workies" have dis-
covered that the very atmosphere is tainted
by their presence and the beer is turned sour.
I assure you, my "Good Ruffians," that even my
devotion to my constituents, and my anxiety
to serve the people zealously and honestly in
Parliament, shall not save you from the castiga-
tion to which your assassin-like brutality so
justly entitles you. Don't think that I am one
of those whom you can play with—who you
can take up and put down as you please—who
you can attempt to wound and then beg
pardon for. I never seek the quarrel nor shrink
if when it comes, nor shall I now be the first
to cry "Hold! Enough!" I did not seek
this controversy, but you grappled with my
honour, and if you perish in the struggle you
are your own destroyers!

FEARGUS O'CONNOR.
GRAND SOIRÉE AND BALL IN HONOUR
OF THE RETURN OF FEARGUS
O'CONNOR, ESQ., AS MEMBER FOR
NOTTINGHAM.

The friends of Feargus O'Connor, Esq., M.P.,
having determined to hold a festival to celebrate
the return of that gentleman as member for the borough
of Nottingham, Monday last was appointed for that
purpose, and such was the anxiety of persons to be
present on the occasion that the committee of man-
agement were under the necessity of taking the
Exchange Hall and the Conservative Assembly
Rooms for the above object. Long before the time
arrived for admission, crowds of persons had as-
sembled, and on the doors being opened, both places
were immediately occupied by those who had been
fortunate enough to obtain tickets.

At the Exchange rooms upwards of 600 persons
sat down to tea, while those at the Assembly Rooms
filled little short of that number. At about five
o'clock Feargus O'Connor, Esq., attended by
Messrs. W. L. W. P. Roberts, Esq., T. Alphon-
so, Esq., entered the Exchange Hall, and took his
seat at the cross table, amid the most deafening
shouts of applause ever heard within those walls.
Tea having been concluded, and while the necessary
preparations for erecting a platform, &c., were being
made, Mr. O'Connor, attended by the several per-
sons above named, paid a visit to the Assembly
Rooms, where he entered shortly after seven o'clock,
and took his seat in the centre of the gallery amid
the uproarious acclamations of the company as-
sembled below.

Mr. Charles Roberts, of Nottingham, presided
over the meeting at the Assembly Rooms

3.

the carpenters, Maldenhead, Castle-street, City-road	0 11 0
the carpenters and joiners of London	3 10 0
the carpenters, Silver Cup, Cromer-street, Gray's Inn-road	3 0 0
the boiler makers of Greenwich (Penn's and others)	2 0 0
few friends at the Angel, Stratford, Essex	0 17 6
the work cutters' society, Ball, Old Bailey	30 0 0
the engineers of London	1 11 0
the carpenters, King's Arms, Marylebone-street	5 0 0
the engine and machine smiths, Peacock, Westminster-road	2 10 6
the pattern makers to engineers, Glasshouse-fields	0 6 8
the carpenters, Queen's Head, Acton-st., Gray's Inn-road	4 0 0
the cowboys (W. M.) Ball and Ball, Regent-makers (street)	2 0 0
the carpenters, Mitre, Stangate	0 13 8
the carpenters, Globe, King-st., John-st., Clerkwell	3 0 0
the smiths of carriage department	0 12 6
the engineers of Messrs Miller, Ravenhill, and Co., Golden-square	1 2 6
the ironworkers, Royal Tent, Silver-st., Golden-square	2 0 0
the paper makers of Darnley (2nd sub- scription)	10 10 6
the engineers of London	6 14 0
	9 15 0
the carpenters, Maldenhead, Castle-st., (2nd city-road)	4 0 0
the flatworkers, Pewter-Plater, Church- st., Plate-garden	5 0 0
the silver trade, Crown and Can, John-st., Clerkwell	20 0 0
the carvers and gliders, Golden Lion, Wardour-st.	2 0 0
the moulders, Messrs Seaward and Co., Bainbridge-road	0 10 0
the Leathers, Webster, John-street, Clerkwell	0 1 0
Received in the thirteen weeks from our own trade	
he men in the Survey	81 18 9
he men at the pin factory, Bainbridge-road	11 18 5
he men of Mr Swaisland, Kent*	62 2 0
who were in our army	0 12 1
Total from all bodies	156 2 3
Total	200 18 0
* Besides this, Mr Swaisland's men have paid twenty shillings to men from their shop.	
EXPENDITURE.	
aided to men on Strike	281 11 6
aided for printing, meetings, delegation, &c.	69 6 6
	£390 18 0
AUGUSTUS FABRIZI & Auditors, JOHN REIDELL & Co., GEORGE HUDSON, Clerk.	
WISLATION LAIBR MAKERS.—As you are an advo- cate of the rights of labour, will you insert the fol- lowing subscriptions received by the more than 100 makers now on strike at Wislation, of whose names I will most oblige, Yours, truly, EDWD. SUMMERIS, Treasurer.	
	£ s. d.
Wislation, General Traders	3 7 9
Whitehaven, Fanners by Cart	0 19 0
Vigton Nailers	0 12 0
Marble Nailers, by Brown	0 51 0
At Brobb's Chain makers, Gateshead	1 3 6
At City Quay Chain makers	0 5 0
At Forecastle Nailers	0 5 4
North Shields Nailers	0 5 6
Tyzick and Dobinson's Chain makers	0 3 3
Pow and Co.'s Chain makers	0 7 8

1 0

[illegible]

left fallow, the means of plan-

Those members who entertained doubts of the security of the Land Bank, or of Mr O'Connor's honesty, must feel truly grateful for the valuable services of this intrepid friend and benefactor of your country.

tin- saved you £200 from being lost.
n- your having
n- assertion, though as true as any other he has
n- written for your instruction, is false. The No. 4 branch
n- has only drawn £300, required to pay donations:
n- £500 is in the bank still. I may also add that the
n- Manchester No. 5 branch has deposited £170, making
n- £700, which is in the bank yet; so much for the ver-
n- city of the Whistler?

But, why did not this 'whistling' friend of yours ap-
prise you of the donations to which your funds were ex-
posed that were deposited in the Royal Bank of Liver-
pool? Surely, the £300 in that bank belonging to the
Liverpool branch, required the care of your guardian.
Perhaps, the 'Whistler' thought the £300 secure in the
Royal Bank, and so is it; it is so secure that the Liver-
pool branch cannot get it, although they might want it
to pay the men out of work. What will you say when I
tell you that one of the 'Whistler's' pupils, the Ashion
delegate to the executive council, held on Saturday, October
20th, seriously proposed withdrawing about £200 more in
the Royal Bank of Liverpool?

Each in individual branch, from the commencement of
our society to the present time, has exercised the right of
depositing its funds in what bank ever it thought
best; what right have you to make exceptions of the 4
and 5 Manchester branches?

If you wish to prevent the dismemberment of our so-
ciety, you must allow to those branches the same rights
you allowed to others; and, indeed, I am very much
mistaken with the material of which the Greave branch
is composed, if you will be allowed to coerce them.

A MANCHESTER MEXICAN.

P.S.—A short time ago, H. Selwyn, on his own au-
thority, advised the Warrington branch to withdraw their
funds out of the savings-bank, and deposit them in the
same bank in Liverpool. The Greave branch, thinking
Sir Benjamin Heywood's bank unsafe at the present time,
have, on their own authority, withdrawn their funds from
that bank, and deposited them in the Manchester Savings'
Bank. Now, as Mr Selwyn thinks savings-banks unsafe,
will he appeal to the society against the Greave branch
for removing their funds to it? Or, is the latter
branch a privileged one? The truth is, the Manchester
Nos. 4 and 5 branches claim equal rights and privileges
with other branches of our society, and should they be
suspended, you may hereafter regret allowing prejudice
to warp your better judgment.

MINSTER LEVEL.—At a meeting of the working
men employed on the Minister Level estate, which
was addressed by Messrs Doyle, Cullingham, Coutts,
and Moody, the following resolution was unanimously

That we, the working men employed by the National Association at their work now in operation on the estate at Minister Lovel, seeing that the judgment and honesty of our principal director and superintendent, Mr. Yeagous O'Connor, has been basely and unjustly attacked by a portion of the press of this country, we have felt to be our duty to come forward and contradict the false accusations of these vile slanders, and to satisfy the satisfaction of the shareholders, to inform them that, from the funds being squandered, we are compelled to state, in justice to ourselves and brother tradesmen, that it is only by perseverance and great industry, that we are enabled to realise a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. As to the ability of Mr O'Connor, he has proved to us, as practical tradesmen, by the extent of this practical and perseverant, and untiring industry, to the great permanence, and devoted attention, to be the only man in this country competent to carry on the Company's business. And we challenge the country to point out any other company that can equal the rapid progress we have made, the economy exercised, and the facilities we now possess, for enabling us to proceed with our operations, in a regular and systematic order, which can only be arrived at by the united energy, skill,

CARDIFF.—At a meeting of this branch of the Land Company, resolutions, denunciatory of the 'Whistler,' the editor of the *Dispatch*, and other lying libelers, were unanimously adopted, with the following addition :—

And we hereby resolve, that the thanks of this branch be tendered to Messrs. Thomas Esq. M.P., for the able refutation of the various charges brought against him; and tender to him our best wishes for his long life and triumph over all his enemies.

OSWALD WHISTLER.—At our meeting the following resolution was agreed to :—

That the best thanks of this meeting are hereby given to Feargus O'Connor, Esq., M.P., for his spirited reply to the various charges against him; and that this meeting places implicit confidence in Mr O'Connor's integrity; and will support him in his prosecution of the *Manchester Examiner*.

TEMBURBROW.—A quarterly meeting of members was held on Wednesday, November 3rd. The following officers were appointed :—Edmund Dalby, secretary; Thomas Hill, secretary; John Legg and Wm. Morris, auditors; George Charnock, treasurer; John Pearson, John Brown, Edward Weaver, John Pen-

Ferdinand Rolanson, and William Morris, concurring. The following resolution was adopted:—
That this meeting has the fullest confidence in F. O'Connor, M.P., as the Land Company's bailiff and trustee, in his use of the money, and in his support him in his struggle with the 'press-gang,' and that a motion be commenced for that purpose, to be continued for three months.

SOUTH SHIELDS.—The Chartists and members of the Land Company have passed resolutions and an address, expressive of their unbounded confidence in Mr O'Connor, and their determination to support him in his use of the money. Meetings are held every Sunday evening at the Mechanics' Arms, for mutual instruction and discussion.

ALVA.—At a meeting of this branch of the Land Company, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr O'Connor, all present pledging themselves to support that gentleman, in spite of the calumnies directed against him. The members of this branch suggested that Mr O'Connor should be appointed at Manchester, at Nottingham, and at London, to visit the house and land wished for by Mr O'Connor, on the estate in Oxfordshire, and Mr O'Connor to have the property at their valuation. The editor

of the *Sirring Observer* has been having a fling at the Land Plan, but he will get his settling when Mr. Kynames this way.

HAZARD, the way of land men and friends took place on Wednesday evening, November 3d, in the Christian Brethren's meeting room, when the following resolutions were adopted:—

That we think it unjust to allow Mr O'Connor to be at any expense in bringing to justice the base maligners of our cause, and that we pledge ourselves to use our best endeavours to assist him as much pecuniary aid as possible towards defraying the expenses of the forthcoming trial.

That we return our best thanks to Feargus O'Connor, M.P., for his past services, and that we place undoubted confidence in him, as we have always found his character to be unimpaired.

The members and friends are informed that the subscription book lies at Mr Yates's.

117th.—At the weekly meeting the following resolution was carried unanimously:

That the members of this branch tender their warm and cordial thanks to Feargus O'Connor, Esq., for his able exposition and his spirited reply to the *Weekly Dispatch* and other papers. This meeting places the most

of O'Connor's integrity, and that he trusts that that gentleman will go on as usual, but the advocacy of the claims of the wronged colored man, and the meeting pledges itself to subscribe its proportion of the expense attendant on the presentation of the *Manchester Examiner*.

TUESDAY WELLS.—We, the members of the Cambridge Wells branch of the National Land Company, expressing our unbounded confidence in the honesty and integrity of Mr O'Connor, apologise him for his manly and straightforward reply to the malicious press-gang, and we sincerely hope that such filthy rascals and such heroes of the cat o' nine tails as the 'Whistler' will receive from the public their just deserts. — W. H. LAWNER, secretary.

LIVERPOOL.—Two lectures were delivered in this town on Thursday and Friday evenings Nov. 4th and 5th, by Dr McDonal, subject being "The present alarm of the colored people of America, and the causes." The lectures were very generally attended, and were listened to with great attention. After the second lecture, Mr Thomas Jones in the speech of great length, in which the gentlemen of the press came in for a severe and severe castigation, moved the following resolution:

That we view with sorrow the present state of the

conduct of the *Manchester Examiner*, and others of the violent press gang in their onslaught on Vergess O'Connor, Esq., M.P., and the National Land Company, are a beg to inform those gentlemen, that their calumnies will have no other effect than to cement us closer in the bonds of brotherhood and co-operation, being impressed with the conviction that the social emancipation of the masses must be the work of the Land Movement. We therefore consider the conduct of the *Examiner* and *Journal* to be highly censurable in giving publicity to such calumnies; the *Manchester Examiner*, and refusing to insert an advertisement when one was sent. And further, we wish to tender our most sincere thanks to those papers that have sincerely and manfully defended our principles, and we rise to suggest no public or coffee house that entrepreneurs of such papers that are so lavishing their space and so expending of the truth in the service of the people. Lastly, we declare our unbounded reliance in Ferguson O'Connor Esq., M.P., and the directors of the Land Com. Co. and assure those gentlemen that nothing but the recollection of duty on his part, will ever lead to a failure of that confidence.

The resolution was seconded by Mr Edmund Lloyd Jones in a eloquent speech, and carried unanimously.

O. S. S.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL LAND COMPANY.

"Last speech, confession, and true dying declaration of Thomas Bailey, late proprietor of the Nottingham Mercury, who was found smothered in a heap of water pipes, at his office in the Market-place, on Thursday last, the 11th instant.—May the Lord have mercy on his soul!"

Basford, Nottingham, November 9th, 1847.

Sir,—Although I did not embrace the opportunity of meeting you on the platform in the Exchange Hall, Nottingham, on the evening of the 27th ult., yet have I not been the less desirous of that account to express to you in public the grounds on which I differ from you in respect of your proposed scheme for ameliorating the general condition of the British labouring class, by locating them in agricultural colonies, on the principles of your 'Land Plan.'

I propose, then, that we have a meeting in public for the discussion of this question, and its relative one, the influence of these colonies, supposing them to be extensively established, on the moral, the intellectual, and social condition of the labouring class of this country, as well as on the wealth, the power, the prosperity, and real greatness of the empire at large.

All reference to balance sheets, or the detail of management of the colonies at present in existence, to be prohibited on this occasion, and the discussion be confined exclusively to principles.

To secure order, and guard as much as possible against exhibitions of undue partiality by any portion of the audience, I propose that each party shall nominate a Chairman, who shall, if they think proper, nominate an umpire. The audience to range on opposite sides of the hall or place of meeting.

I engage to commence the proceedings by stating my objections to the Land Plan, for which purpose I shall be allowed one hour and a half. You shall then enter on the defence, being allowed a similar period of time, after which half an hour shall be granted me to reply.

I am fearful there is not time during your present stay in Nottingham to complete the arrangements necessary for this discussion, though I am most desirous that it should come off at as early a period as possible.

Waiting a line from you on this subject to-morrow morning, addressed to me at the 'Mercury Office.'

I remain, sir, yours most obediently,

FEARGUS O'CONNOR, Esq., M.P., Ram Hotel, Nottingham.

Ram Hotel, Nottingham, Tuesday, November 9th, 1847.

Sir,—I accept your challenge—name your day, and give me sufficient notice to enable me to travel to Nottingham.

Mr Thomas Bailey, Mercury Office, Nottingham.

Now, my friends, I invite you—nay, I implore you—to read the above letter of Mr. Thomas Bailey with care and attention, and from it you will learn that the assailer of my character—the critic and denouncer of the balance sheet—the exposé of my wasteful expenditure of your funds, and the enemy of the principle involved in the Land Plan, when worsted in the conflict, abandons every objection to the balance sheet, surrenders every charge of wasteful expenditure, and gives up the denunciation of the principle, and is now satisfied to rest his opposition upon the effects that the Plan may have upon the moral, intellectual, and social condition of the people.

Let me ask you if ever a more dishonest, or more disreputable, or more disgraceful shuffle was resorted to by the greatest juggler? But from my acceptance of his challenge you will learn a valuable and a wholesome lesson—the lesson that I do not shrink from any inquiry into the subject before an audience whose minds would be easily biased against me, because interested in my integrity, if the shadow of a shade of wrong could be proved against me. You must always bear in mind, that I am the person who, above all others, has pressed upon you the necessity of jealousy, and even suspicious, watching of your funds; and so particular am I upon this point—the want of that every movement has been shivered upon—that last night, when presenting my banker's book, the secretary's book—in which there is not a figure of mine—and the balance sheets, to a deputation of the several secretaries of this district, that I was the least impatient of all, and the most anxious for the most searching inquiry. I showed to that deputation every item set down from the secretary's book, in my answer to Bailey, of last week; and there was not one single fraction of variance between those books, my balance sheet, and the banker's book. I even directed their attention to the items evilled at by Bailey and showed the entries, dates, and amounts in the banker's book. I did not make one figure; the secretaries took the figures from the several books, and, as you will find by their resolutions at foot, they were perfectly satisfied on behalf of their constituents.

There were also present two accountants—master manufacturers—and to those gentlemen, and the secretaries, I exhibited the banker's book, making them cast the debtor and creditor side up, and showing the balance of 1,200l. due to me. Then, as my character, with regard to the 'Northern Star' accounts, had been assailed in the 'Mercury' I exhibited the books connected with that paper from the first week, and upon them I think I satisfied the deputation that there was not a figure of mine; and upon which they expressed themselves in no very measured terms.

You will not suppose that a gentleman can be too minute in his explanation of the smallest item connected with the funds of the working classes, and so particular am I in carrying all forward to their credit that they have paid, that you will find that I have debited myself with a sum of nearly 200l., which, contrary to my repeated entreaties, has been placed in the different banks in London to my credit, and which still remains there, although I have given you credit for the whole amount in the balance sheet.

The wide range of accusation now adopted by our opponents is, that, being unable to keep my own accounts, I am not competent to keep yours; my answer is, that your accounts are not kept by me; that they are kept, firstly, by the Directors; secondly, by my London agent; thirdly, by my banker and broker; and, fourthly, by the overseer and bailiff. Hence, I have four checks upon those accounts, and my duty is the mere administration of those funds, taking care that I receive value for all expended. And I now pray your attention to the following curious and startling fact. I have erected about 150 houses. They will not average 100l. a house, with out-buildings. My friend, Mr. Allsop, has contracted for building a number of houses near Lincoln, upon the very same scale—and beautiful houses they are too—and for these houses the cost for overseer, architect, and builder, is about 150l.; so that if you take a hundred houses, built under my supervision, and a hundred houses built on account of a gentleman, whose time is too precious to admit of personal supervision, you have the astounding fact, that my management, in the erection of these hundred houses alone, saves you fifty-five pounds a house, or five thousand five hundred pounds; and when I shall have built a hundred thousand houses, which, with God's blessing, I will, I shall have saved the Company the small item of five millions five hundred thousand pounds. Now what think you of that? But that's not all. I save you an equal amount by performing every operation myself, from the purchase of the Land to the location of the occupant.

Here, then, is the distinctive character of this undertaking. In every other instance the money of a Company is considered public property, a property from which every one connected with the Company has a kind of prescriptive right to help himself, and all get afraid of each other; whereas, I am afraid of no man, and the crime with which I am chargeable is, that I have been more jealous and particular about this Company's money than I have been about my own.

The one view that I wish you to take of me, my life, and the Company, is this—

Firstly.—That I could not spend money luxuriously if I had it.

Secondly.—That through the whole of life I have only valued money in proportion to the good I could do to the poor; and

Thirdly.—That if my object was to make property for myself, I dare say I could rake and scrape some 20,000, or 25,000, of my own together; and from that sum I would undertake, in ten years, to make myself the richest man in Europe, by purchasing land in the wholesale market, and selling it in the retail market, and discharged of the necessity of submitting my management, or my balance sheet, to the criticism of Bailey, Hobson, the 'Whistler,' and Co.

It is a very extraordinary fact connected with this our most holy of all undertakings, that the poor-man-protecting press never assailed it until it took such a firm hold of the minds of the working classes as to make it a terror to monopoly, and surely, from the outset, the principle was precisely the same as it is now.

As long as we were mere talking Chartists a bunch of master magistrates could send us before a jury of master manufacturers, for riots, riots, seditious, conspiracy and tumult; they could send me to jail for publishing other men's speeches, but they could not send me to jail for publishing the receipts of other men's money. In fact, and I defy mortal man to deny it, of my single self, certainly aided by the good and trusty men with whom, thank God, I have been associated, have created a greater mental and moral revolution within the last ten years—for this is

THE BIRTH DAY of the Northern Star—this day it has completed its tenth anniversary—and, however those who have lived luxuriously, and amassed money by who have lived under the shadow of the 'Whistler,' through which that popular lifeboat has passed; yet, however searching, diving, critical, & minute, their recitations and narratives may be; yet will all fall far, very far, short of the reality. The poor devils who undertake to pourtray the vicissitudes through which the Northern Star has passed, and the calamities it has survived, will find that when the vial of their wrath is expended, they have not named half, nor yet a twentieth part, while in the narrowness of their limited memories—only remarkable for fabrication—they appear to forget that no man has been so anxious, so ready, and so willing, at all times, to submit those difficulties to the world, and to develop my own pecuniary condition.

You will say that I have not performed an easy week's work, when I tell you that it is now nearly twelve o'clock on Thursday, and that from Monday night to this hour I have not been outside of this room, except to my bedroom, and that I have only eaten three meals; and that, from nine o'clock in the morning till twelve at night, I have been engaged in receiving deputations. Now is not that the worth something to the poor? I have stolen the time from my rest, for all this, to write several letters, to read the daily papers; and last, not least, to peruse Josh. Hobson's immense 'long yarn' of five columns and a half! and if Mr. Roberts gave him a pill on Monday night, I'll give him a bolus on Saturday next that he is little prepared for, and then I'll leave him to wallow in his own mire, to be dealt with in future by those who know his character even better than I do.

I cannot however conclude this letter, without informing Mr. Bailey that I will give him the aid of Hobson and the 'Whistler,' on Monday evening, the 22nd inst., for that's the night of the discussion; and that while I undertake to confine myself strictly to the conditions laid down in Mr. Bailey's letter, I will allow them to fire away at my character, both public and private, through the whole of life. And here allow me to make a distinction between Mr. Bailey and the other two; as regards Mr. Bailey, I have only to declare, that if one single insult is offered to him during his address or reply, or if a single unseemly exhibition of feeling is manifested, I will instantly leave the hall; and as I have ever sought for a full and fair discussion and investigation of every principle I have propounded, I will confine myself strictly to the points proposed to be discussed in Mr. Bailey's letter—namely, 'The effects of the Land Plan upon the moral, intellectual and social condition of the working classes.' I am only too happy to meet a controversialist, upon any subject connected with the Land Plan, and if Mr. Bailey had informed me of what his Editor, Mr. Walter Ellis, communicated before several gentlemen yesterday—namely, that his information was derived from letters written by other parties—I would have treated Mr. Bailey in a very different manner. And here I now beg to tell that gentleman, that having had the courage and manliness to sue me, I bury all the past in oblivion. I shall meet him like a gentleman, and treat him like a gentleman, and if he can suggest any possible improvement in the Land Plan, I will receive it with gratitude, and henceforth hail him as one who CAN make it more perfect.

I have a moment just to repeat here a sentence from one of the two splendid speeches made by Mr. Roberts on Monday night last. His last speech was an hour and a quarter's length, and never flagged for a moment on his audience; but, on the contrary, when about to close, he was requested to proceed, he said, and mark it—

"Now, my friends, what is their disappointment, their antipathy, and their hatred to the Land Plan based upon, why, upon this one fact, that they see that the people are determined not to be bamboozled, and that all that is necessary to carry it out is confidence in one man, and that man is Feargus O'Connor; and it would be harmless if they confined their speculative opposition to newspaper squibs and conundrums, but when such a man as Mr. Joshua Hobson undertakes to expound the law, then I feel a little indignity offered to my own trade, for I don't want you all to be lawyers. However, this gentleman has ventured a legal guess in reply to Mr. O'Connor's assertion, that prior to commencing proceedings for the recovery of penalties, the Attorney-General's consent shall be obtained. Now Mr. Hobson has declared, that, throughout the whole act there is no such provision—indeed, he repudiates the assertion wholesale. Well, I begin to think, that surely no man would make so broad an assertion without some grounds, and I jogged my memory and said, 'Surely, William Prowling Roberts, in July, 1847, you considered the Joint Stock Companies' Act an important matter for consideration, and is it possible that you are the knobstick, and lawyer Hobson is the authority?' So I turned to the 77th clause of this same Act, printed in the People's Legal Adviser, for July, 1847, and what did I find there? why, just this, and I'll read it for you—

LXXVII. And be it enacted, That it shall not be lawful for any Person to commence or prosecute any Action, Bill, Plea, Information, or Prosecution in any of Her Majesty's Superior Courts, for the Recovery of any Penalty or Forfeiture incurred by reason of any offence committed against this Act, unless the same be commenced or prosecuted in the Name and with the Consent of Her Majesty's Attorney-General; and that any Action, Bill, Plea, Information, or Prosecution, commenced or prosecuted in the Name and with the Consent of Her Majesty's Attorney-General, shall be deemed to be commenced or prosecuted in the Name of any other Person than in that Behalf before mentioned, and the same shall be and are hereby declared to be null and void.

(Loud and continued cheering, followed the reading of the above clause.) "Now," continued Mr. Roberts, "lawyer Hobson appears to have got a bit of the Land Plan, and I tell him from this spot, and before my clients, that the Miners' Attorney-General is ready for him, and all other spies and informers, whenever they feel disposed for a tilt, as I am determined that nothing shall be left undone on my part, to uphold, defend, and assist this, the most holy, the most glorious, the most heavenly cause that ever the people of any country were engaged in." (Renewed, and rapturous applause.)

Now, my friends, what say you to that? That comes from a man of the clearest legal perception in this country—I'll not except one of any branch of the profession. It is the opinion of the man who, in opposition to six barristers of high standing, confounded, and successfully, against the informality in the most important judgment; the man who is received as an authority by the judges; the man who the coal kings dread as the general jail deliverer; and with this observation I conclude.

Ever your fond and affectionate friend,

FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

Nottingham, Thursday.

At a meeting of the undersigned members of the National Land Company, appointed to examine the accounts of Feargus O'Connor, Esq., M.P., the treasurer of the above Company, we have the greatest satisfaction in declaring to our brother shareholders throughout the country, that after carefully going through those accounts, we declare them to be correct.

We are, therefore, of opinion that the attacks made by the 'Whistler' in the Manchester Examiner, Mr. Thomas Bailey in the Nottingham Mercury, also the writers in the Dispatch, Lloyd's paper, the Globe, and other newspapers, so far from preventing our onward progress, will only stir up to greater exertions, in order to emancipate ourselves from the thrall under which we at present labour. We cannot conclude without tendering to our highly respected treasurer our grateful thanks, and we assure him, that to come and see, or come and see, are determined to hold him and his associates responsible for their acts, and if they dare to use any forcible means in order to injure us through him, we will by every means in our power repel such attacks regardless of consequences. We have examined the Bank books, the secretary's book, and the balance sheet, and find all to correspond to the fraction, with the accounts and statements furnished by Mr. O'Connor.

JOHN SWANN, Nottingham Branch, JOURNALLER, ditto, JOHN LAY, Carrington ditto, ROBERT MOORE, Old Basford do, JOHN ALLRED, ditto, JAMES SAUNDERS, New Radford ditto.

THE LAW AND THE LAND.

(From the 'Labourer' Magazine, for Nov.)

[We commend this to the perusal of lawyers Hobson and 'Whistler,' as an answer to their knobstick law.]

The assailants of the National Land Company have, among other numerous assertions, declared that it, or its promoters, have violated the statute relating to joint-stock companies. We have thought that a few pages devoted to this subject may not be unacceptable to our readers. To begin at the beginning, it is necessary to state that, previously to 1844, joint-stock companies or associations were formed under various instruments, viz.—1. By act of Parliament. 2. By royal charter. 3. By letters patent. 4. By deeds of settlement. 5. By articles of association. And even now companies may be established by any of the first three, inasmuch as they do not apply to such cases.

In that year a statute was passed (7 & 8 Vic. c. 110), for 'the registration, incorporation, and regulation of joint-stock companies.' The object of this statute, amongst others, was to prevent the formation of fraudulent companies, and to obtain a registry or account of all companies. It expressly excepts from its operation 'friendly' or 'benefit' societies. The requirements of this act may briefly be stated to be, that companies coming within it should be formed by deed, should be first provisionally registered, and then completely registered. There is no time fixed for complete registration to take place, but if certain acts are done before such registration, penalties will be incurred by the promoters of the company.

The legal charge against the Land Company is thus stated by 'One who has whistled at the plough,' and it is a great pity he ever was taken from it. He must have been the plough-boy 'who whistled as he went for want of thought.' He certainly was not cut out for a lawyer. We give his own words—

"The Society," he says, "is not yet registered.... It never will be registered. It cannot now be done.... S. 23 of the Joint-Stock Companies' Act, enacted for the protection of the public from fraudulent schemes, provides that it shall not be lawful for a company, until completely registered, 'to make calls, nor to purchase, contract for, or hold lands, &c.' It provides penalties for the infringement of its clauses, the penalties varying from 5s. to 25s. each; every one of which clauses the Land Company has already violated; every one of which penalties they are already liable, amounting in the aggregate to several thousand pounds. The penalties may be recovered as soon as they are registered, but not sooner, as it is not until then a company."

Now, in the above extract there are as many blunders as can possibly be stuffed into an equal number of words. The statements made are not only erroneous in law, but also in fact.

First.—The society is registered. Not completely, but provisionally registered; which the 'Whistler' seems to think is no registration whatever, as he says, 'it is not registered,' and again, 'until registered it is not a company.' In this also he is wrong, if he means it is not a company until completely registered, for it became one on provisional registration. To show this it is only necessary to refer to their powers at such a stage, and to the 23rd section of 7th and 8th Vic. c. 110, whereby it is enacted, that 'on the provisional registration of any company being certified, it shall be lawful for the promoters of any company so registered to act provisionally, while, by section 25, on complete registration, the company becomes incorporated. Probably the writer was not aware of the difference which prevails between a company and a corporation, and thus was led to mistake one for the other.

Secondly.—He says that the society cannot now be registered. As we have said, it is registered provisionally. And we repeat, that a company may be completely registered at any time; there is no limitation as to period whatever. We should like to see the reference to the act, and the section of it, that prevents a company from being completely registered at any time.

Thirdly.—In this lawyer's opinion innumerable penalties have been incurred by the company, or promoters, by their having purchased land before they were completely registered. In the very same article from which we have made an extract, he attacks Mr. O'Connor because he has purchased the land in his own name, and as if it were for himself. There is, therefore, a gross inconsistency on the face of the statement; first, the company is liable to penalties for having purchased the land; but presently it appears, on his own showing, that not the company, but Mr. O'Connor has purchased it. How is this to be reconciled? We know not, but we know that with a due regard to the state of the law, and the difficulties that occurred to the company, the land has been bought in Mr. O'Connor's name, conveyed to him, and allotted by him. It is not held by the company, but by him or the allottees in their individual character. The fabric raised by this imaginative writer, therefore, falls to the ground. No penalties whatever have been incurred, nor can any, therefore, be recovered. On complete registration the land may be conveyed to the company. We are not aware of any law prohibiting the purchase of land by an individual, as such, at any period, or under any circumstances, or the allotment of land by him to any number of persons that he may think proper. If it were otherwise all landowners who have bought their estates, or who have let them out to tenants, or allotted them in small or large parcels, would have violated the law. The joint-stock company's act was never intended to apply, nor does it apply, to such cases.

We would refer this writer, for his information in other cases, to a late statute, which appears to have escaped his notice, the 10th and 11th Vic. c. 78, which repeals many of the penalties which are imposed by the statute, 7th and 8th Vic. c. 110, in those cases where companies, as companies, have infringed its enactments.

In the same article from which we have quoted, it is suggested that Mr. O'Connor might devise the land to the company if it were completely registered; but if he did not devise it, the land would go to his next of kin, or if he devised it to the company not completely registered, he must devise it separately, perhaps, to about 50,000 shareholders. Now the first part of this suggestion admits that he may convey or devise the land to the company when completely registered, which is something for an opponent to admit, though presently, we shall see he states that the original owners of the property, from whom it was purchased, may resume it, and all contracts now made relating to it will be void, even if the company be completely registered.

In the latter branches of the above proposition this writer has conveniently overlooked very important facts. First, that the land purchased is conveyed to the allottees, as so many individuals, as soon as possible after it has been purchased, and, therefore, that Mr. O'Connor is then divested of all property and title in it. Secondly, that it may be devised to one trustee for numerous parties. And thirdly, that in any event equity would enforce the trust reposed in Mr. O'Connor, and see that the parties beneficially entitled to the land became possessed of it. If I am employed as a land agent by five hundred persons, or any number, and am entrusted with their funds to purchase land for them, and do so properly, in equity it is their own and not my property.

It was next alleged by this writer, that on complete registration of the company 'all contracts becom[ing] illegal and lapse.' (What is the meaning of a contract lapsing?) The original owners of the estates may resume ownership, as if they had not been sold, and penalties to the amount of nearly 4000l. may be enforced.

"The contracts will become illegal," by doing what? By pursuing the act of parliament and completely registering the company! If they are legal now, it seems strange that illegality should be imposed to them by doing what the act requires. This is new law. It will also be observed, that throughout this passage the writer assumes that the company, as such, have purchased the land, although he had before asserted that Mr. O'Connor alone had done so. We have already said that the company do not purchase the land; but, even if it were otherwise, the above conclusion by no means follows. Supposing, for the argument, that the promoters had infringed the statute; the only remedy would be that they might be liable for penalties, but their contracts would not be void. The original owners could not recover the property. It is well established in law that, even under an illegal contract, where money has been paid or land conveyed, it cannot be recovered again.

The law will not assist parties to an illegal contract, either to enforce or rescind it. Although, if an action be brought to carry into effect an unexecuted contract, the illegality thereof is a defence; yet, after it is once executed, a party to the contract, and the illegality of it, cannot on that ground render it null. No party would be allowed to avail himself of his own deed by stating that he had been a party to the violation of a statute, that he had received the purchase money for so doing, but that now he would like to have the land also, as a reward for his own wrong.

What is to be said of one who sets up for a public writer and teacher, and thus blunders in every assertion which he makes? Who can depend either upon the facts or the law (heaven save the mark!) which he publishes for the mystification of his unhappy readers? However, we have done with him for the present, and his effusions.

We will now proceed to lay before our readers a statement relating to the Land Company, regarded in its legal aspect.

When the Land Plan was first projected, its promoters were anxious to avoid every unnecessary expense, and to render it as simple and as economical as was consistent with a due regard to the protection of the interests of the subscribers. For this purpose they submitted the rules to counsel, who were not in any way connected with the project. The rules were settled by these counsel, who advised that the company should be enrolled as a friendly or benefit society. Mr. Tidd Pratt, who is the gentleman officially appointed for the purpose of enrolling such societies, decided that this association—so novel in its principle, and so extensive in its contemplative operations—did not come within the intention, or provisions, of the statutes relating to friendly societies. His own individual opinion was in favour of its enrolment; but he stated that a learned judge had recently held, that a more limited construction was to be put upon these statutes than he himself had thought requisite, and, of course, he was bound by the judicial holding. The rules were again laid before counsel for revision and alteration, so that they might be rendered conformable to the statutes, provided that could be done without sacrificing the essential principle of the association. They were remodelled, and again laid before Mr. Tidd Pratt, who still, however, refused to enrol them, much as he regretted what he considered a curtailment of the rights of the association. He accordingly petitioned the Bench, and judgment was given in favour of the promoters. Consultations were held with him, but all to no purpose. What, then, was to be done? A bill was actually prepared, and was brought into parliament by Mr. Duncombe, to amend the Friendly Societies' Acts, so as to include the Land Company within them. This, of itself, shows how strenuous were the efforts made to give members of the company the benefits, privileges, and protection of a friendly society. The bill passed, but so altered and limited in its provisions, by amendments proposed by Sir James Graham, and adopted by the House—with a view, it is believed, to exclude the Land Company—that still it was not supposed to come under the denomination of a friendly society.

Counsel were again consulted, and then it was resolved, as the most proper step to be taken, to make the association a joint-stock company, and to bring it within the provisions of the Act 7 and 8 Vic. c. 110.

The deed was prepared as soon as possible; the company were provisionally registered; Mr. Duncombe was registered as the trustee; and, in the meantime, purchases were made under legal advice, in the name of one individual.

Thus, the only law in existence of which the company were permitted to avail itself, was brought to bear upon it; but, for want of proper machinery, under the statute, to conduct so huge an affair as the Land Company—from the magnitude of its constitution and operations—from the vast number of members, and the distances at which they reside from each other—delay and difficulty in the complete registration of the company, have unavoidably occurred. As one instance, among many, it may be sufficient to state, that the deed must be signed by at least one-fourth of the subscribers, before a certificate of complete registration can be obtained—that the first deed required the signatures of between 8,000 and 9,000 persons, scattered throughout the country! Notwithstanding, however, all these obstacles, the deed has now received almost every signature that is required; and, in a few weeks, the company will be completely registered, and an application be made to the Board of Trade, under the name of the promoter, to enable the company to hold lands in the name of their trustees. Such is our legal statement of the matter, so far as it comes within the scope of the present article.

In concluding these remarks we would observe, that, for the purpose of preventing fraudulent schemes and bubble speculations, as far as they can be prevented by Acts of Parliament, it is a great mistake to suppose that complete registration of the material points of 'provisional registration of companies' is the most important part. It was intended to be by the statute (7 and 8 Vic. c. 110), and it is well known that railway companies seldom, if ever, register, except provisionally. It is the provisional registration that gives the public information as to the nature and purpose of the company, as to the names of the promoter, and committee, as to the occupation and places of residence—their agreement to take shares in the undertaking—the names and residences of the officers, and the like. All this is required on provisional registration, by section 5 of the Joint Stock Companies' Act. It was to give this publicity, and to impose the consequent responsibility, that the law required the signatures of the promoters, and the registration of the company. It is answered by provisional registration alone. Who ever will turn to the act of parliament may satisfy himself on these points.

Chartist Intelligence.

DEVONSHIRE.—The delegates of the several localities in this county, assembled on Sunday week, at Hlavill's Temperance Hotel, Exeter. Mr. Thomas Flood, of Barnstaple; Mr. James Edwards, Teignmouth; Mr. W. M. Tanner, Totness; Mr. John Cooke, Newton Abbot; Messrs Thomas Pownall, and S. W. Wadley, Torquay; Messrs Wilkinson and O'Brien, Exeter; Mr. O'Brien represented the Chartists of Plymouth.

The following resolutions were carried:—Proposed by Mr. O'Brien, and seconded by Mr. Tanner:—

That W. J. P. Wilkinson, Esq., take the chair. Proposed by Mr. Tanner, and seconded by Mr. Cooke:—

That Mr. O'Brien be the secretary of the meeting. Proposed by Mr. Flood, and seconded by Mr. Cooke:—

That we form a County Association in connexion with the National Chartist Association.

That a committee be elected, consisting of president, treasurer, and secretary, to meet on the day of Exeter be the central part of said county association.

At this period of the proceedings, a delegate arrived from Tiverton, who handed in his credentials, and took his seat.

Proposed by Mr. Cooke, and seconded by Mr. Edwards:—

That W. J. P. Wilkinson, Esq. be president. Proposed by Mr. Flood, and seconded by Mr. Wood:—

That Mr. James Edwards be treasurer. Proposed by Mr. Flood, and seconded by Mr. Cooke:—

That Mr. P. J. O'Brien be the secretary. Proposed by Mr. Tanner, and seconded by Mr. Edwards:—

That a correspondence be opened with the general secretary, and that each town in the county through its proper officer, send for the number of cards, &c., required to the county secretary.

Proposed by Mr. Flood, and seconded by Mr. Wood:—

That the delegates now assembled do earnestly recommend to each locality, the immediate adoption of such means as shall tend to carry out the foregoing resolutions.

Proposed by Mr. O'Brien, and seconded by Mr. Tanner:—

That we most heartily rejoice at the great progress the National Land Company is making, as we believe it to be a powerful means towards obtaining a great and just

and being the social and political emancipation of the people.

Proposed by Mr. Flood, and seconded by Mr. Pearson:—

That we cannot separate without recording our unbounded confidence in Feargus O'Connor, Esq., M.P., and declaring our sympathy for him, under the vile aspersions of a corrupt press.

That the sincere thanks of this meeting are due, and given, to Mr. Wilkinson, for his able conduct in the chair this day, as well as for his exertions on all occasions in the cause of human freedom.

That we earnestly interest of the several localities in this county, to access themselves, where Chartists societies are in existence, as well as where they are not. Now is the time, the favoured child of Chartism, (the National Land Company.) It is proudly rearing its head; it is well established in law that, even under an illegal contract, where money has been paid or land conveyed, it cannot be recovered again.

The law will not assist parties to an illegal contract, either to enforce or rescind it. Although, if an action be brought to carry into effect an unexecuted contract, the illegality thereof is a defence; yet, after it is once executed, a party to the contract, and the illegality of it, cannot on that ground render it null. No party would be allowed to avail himself of his own deed by stating that he had been a party to the violation of a statute, that he had received the purchase money for so doing, but that now he would like to have the land also, as a reward for his own wrong.

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